174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

● [428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
568 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Ămăstan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
685 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand.

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

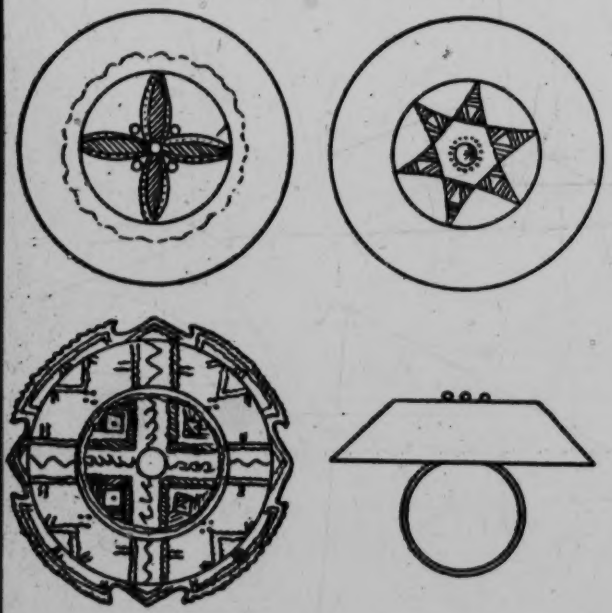

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women.

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community- 611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 567
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as his
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V⊐ , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in <u>flagrante delicto</u> can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

Chapter XIII

Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" ⵜⴰⴽⴰⵙⵉⵜ , (from the verb 4258
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

Chapter XIV

The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⵉⵍⵎⴰⵡⴰⵏ , of goats or sheep, 342

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [426] 611 631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar

sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 32) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubief has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[59] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[70] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellaɣ* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live.

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death.

As the representative of the Kel Rela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public").

The vassal clans of the Kel Rela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:— 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its tiouse as follows:— 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Rela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a

764 /147 cont./ A meal is served to those present at the expense of the deceased according to the instructions he has given before his death. If his wishes were not carried out, the livestock earmarked for the occasion would perish.

763 It is said that he who dies in a position of rest, his arms relaxed, his face serene, was a good man and has every chance of being rewarded. On the other hand, he who expires all curled up and with his fists clenched against his face was a bad man; even if he hid his faults during his lifetime, he is doomed to future woes.

428 The rules of inheritance are poorly known by the Tuareg; only the old know the customs, for to a greater and greater degree the tolbas introduce Moslem law.

When a man dies, one eighth of his property goes to his wife, the rest to his children. If there are no children, a /148/ third is for his wife, with the rest going to his family, part to his parents, part to his brothers and sisters. When the wife dies first, all of her property goes to her children if she has any; if she has none, half goes to her family and the other half to her husband. The property of a deceased person without heirs, a rare condition, are administered by the tribe's amrar for the benefit of the collectivity.

By an oral will made before two witnesses, a man may leave no more than a third of his fortune to an heir not designated by custom.

000 This description of a Targui's life from infancy to death provides merely a glimpse of the customs of a part of the population of the Ahaggar, the part that commands, the part that seems most attractive to the traveler, to the tourist; but one must think of the humble ones, of the harratin cultivators of the agricultural centers, of the Tuareg's black servants, their former slaves. The collecting of their traditions, which are grafted on the framework of Tuareg customs, should be a work apart, for a serious study of the Blacks cannot be

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas.

AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:—

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

[p. 137]

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sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming-day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic unit of closely related stock-owners.

All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with [682] [672] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 [428] [565] Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed 614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par- 613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 505 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḫarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ḫali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ḫali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ḫali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ḫela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Iseḳkemaren*).

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the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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(4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*.

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When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to

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forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

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The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the

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Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igenděyasen* tribe.

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* 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawĕlen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a [77] Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [59] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

●428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Tayṣaḳ* tribe.

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appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara* irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—

(1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

Fig. 140. Millet (*tadlé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Rali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Rali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Rali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had

[14] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Rali* [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Rali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imrad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ereyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Rali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, 1, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 f.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, 1, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, 1, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

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634 643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwllemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imṛad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and